

574 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema*
 782 figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social
 431 relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a
 437 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to
 [572] the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen,
 uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered
 important ritual services.

578 An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only
 431 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken
 571 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his
 825 plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded
 [824] to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant
 emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has
 neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the
 [754] estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any
 reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his
 own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a
 reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will
 determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to
 be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation
 with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a
 close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer
 up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are
 also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence
 of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the
 wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

629 The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a
 728 later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed
 574 as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party.
 This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the
 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of
 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise
 be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the
 sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social
 exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of
 sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of
 the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat
 of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among
 their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable:
 the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate
 their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

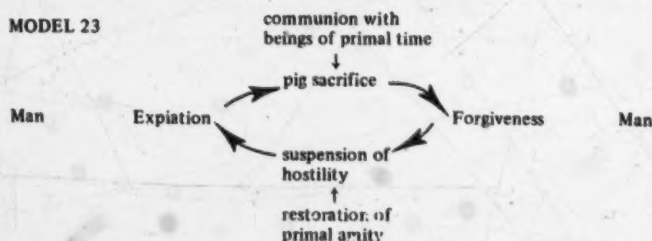
782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not
 571 purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the
 574 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the
 431 Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to
 initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering
 in a 'properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

Pigs

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with divine beings. One might say with equal truth that the purpose of communion is expiation and that the purpose of expiation is communion. The transaction may be expressed in the following diagram:

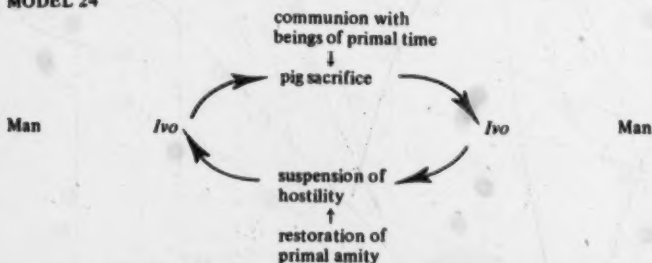
MODEL 23



In this model the object of exchange is clearly expiation. Expiation is mediated by a ritual feast through which all participants identify themselves with beings of primal time and therefore with a period when strife had not become established. This identification is established in the first place by the offender's group which makes the sacrifice. It induces the offended party to participate in the feast and thereby signal its willingness, at least in principle, to suspend hostilities. The purpose of identification is therefore the expiation of offences.

In order to account for the rule that the meat is carried away by the offended party and that it is taboo to the offenders, we need to construct a second diagram, as follows:

MODEL 24



In this model the object of exchange is *ivo* which each group confers upon the other. The exchange is mediated by a pig sacrifice which, according to the Totoima myth, effectively bestows *ivo* upon the guests, *provided* that they carry the meat away with them, and also upon the hosts, *provided* that the guests remove the debilitating influence of any deleterious magic they may have directed at the hosts at an earlier time. One may say here that the purpose of

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431[778]
[754]

574 crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted
621 upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile
[789] villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The
[754] sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an
unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It
might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the
collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that
caused the hostility.

574 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to
628 set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest
737 communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other
572 closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some
significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of
individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent
gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of
their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was
planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends.
A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel
attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a
hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may
make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that
we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is
always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this
strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig
sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions,
sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give
a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete
end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between
individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the
transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these
ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is
attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills
his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the
partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. A Model of Pig Sacrifice

574 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25^A, that model does
628 not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of
778 the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the
feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to
members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The
host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop
failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation
from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the
obtaining of *ivo*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148—Analyst]

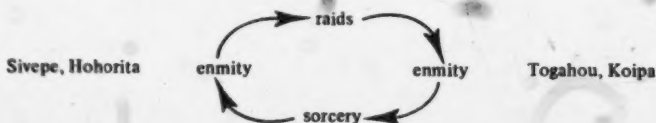
Pigs

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The evidence presented in the previous section shows that we are in fact concerned not with one exchange cycle (i.e. model 25) but with two. The second cycle represents the exchange of sanctions which preceded the feast. Though our data with regard to both the Togahou-Sivepe and the Sangara-Koipa (Isivita) wars are rather fragmentary, we do know that there were a number of raids, the last of which are still known to informants today and date back no more than 60 years. Each side is reported to have raided the other; there were killings; there was cannibalism; women were abducted. Sangara admits having abducted Isivita women but denies that any of its own women were abducted; abductions between Sivepe and Togahou can be shown to have been mutual. The last killings were too long ago for me to be sure which side had made the last raid and which side had, in the finish, a favourable tally of killings. Sivepe and Hohorita both claimed to have come out on the winning side, but I had no opportunity to check the evidence with Togahou and Isivita. If we accept the Sivepe and Hohorita versions, both these villages were in the unpleasant position of having enemies who were still seeking revenge.

Due to the restraints of the *pax Australiana*, this revenge could not take the form of an armed raid, but sorcery was still a possible form of retaliation, as the Australian authorities could not easily detect this. Both Sivepe and Hohorita might therefore justifiably fear sorcery from their old enemies, supposing they wanted to even the scores. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that either Togahou or Koipa had such ideas in mind, but whenever misfortunes happened to Sivepe people in Togahou, or to gardens in Hohorita, the thought of sorcery used by old enemies seemed reasonable to the Orokaiva. We may represent the exchange of sanctions, prior to the feasts, in the following diagram:

MODEL 26



In order to account for pig sacrifice, we require both model 25^B (showing the social exchange achieved by the feast) and model 26 (showing the circumstances which made Hohorita into an 'offender' and Koipa into an 'offended' party). In addition, we need to explain why the groups involved decided to adopt new objects of exchange in their social relationship. Until recently, the two sides exchanged enmity which they mediated by various penalties such as raids and sorcery. At the time of the feast, however, we find the same two parties exchanging expiation and forgiveness. It is possible to invoke a number of historical contingencies to explain this change. Informants liked to tell me that the change was due to the effect of the *iji cha*: the fact that everybody was baptised and moving into a new age when old enmities should be forgotten. I

A,B [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

574 could not help noticing the connection between the reconciliation and the
628 simultaneous fear of sorcery to which I have already referred. But perhaps
721 neither historical explanation is necessary.

728 It seems clear from Williams' evidence and from the little I could reconstruct
in 1966 that Orokaiva history had been one long sequence of hostilities and
reconciliations. The reasons for the reconciliations were various: the legalising of
marriages after abductions, the expediency of forming alliances with old enemies
when faced with the threat of new enemies, a desire for peace after some Pyrrhic
victories, and so on. On the level of myth we find the same message: the
permanent state of *isoro* was interrupted by periodic feasts (see model 1). The
series starts, according to myth, with a state of primordial peace. This is
followed by *isoro*, *peka*, *isoro* in permanent alternation. We may represent the
total pattern by the series of congruent ellipses drawn on parallel planes directly
above one another (see Model 27).

I have presented transactions in historical time by a series of four
transactions, the first and last of which are purely exchanges of penalties. Cycle 2
represents an agreement between two opponents to cease warfare and make
peace (*peka*). This cycle would normally start with a message, sent by the
original aggressor, that he is ready to make amends. This message would be
followed by a visit from the other party to the aggressor, when the latter would
promise to hold a feast. A customary practice at such a meeting was for the
aggressor to plant a cordiline (*poponda*) in evidence of this promise. The
aggressor would then arrange a pig sacrifice.

Cycle 3 would be marked by peace (*peka*). The victim of the original
aggression would give a return feast which was probably obligatory. If the basic
end of pig sacrifice were communion or expiation, no return feast would be
necessary, but as we have found the basic end to be the establishment or
restoration of social relations, on a basis of equality, there must be a balance of
prestations. Each side must sacrifice pigs; each side must dance for the other;
each side must dispel black magic from the gardens of the other. Each side must
expiate past offences and each side must extend forgiveness. But the model
shows that such reconciliation is not expected to be more than temporary
although, of course, friendship between villages can sometimes be maintained
for protracted periods and there is no rule against holding feasts before a quarrel
has reached deadly proportions.

571 The model applies not only to inter-village relations but to all social relations
602 in general, consanguineal and affinal relations included. Quarrels between
578 consanguines differ only in their relatively greater reluctance to resort to an
754 exchange of penalties and greater readiness to settle a quarrel before it has gone
too far. But here a great deal is said to depend on the type of kin relationship
holding between the quarrelling parties. A father or mother will rarely use
sorcery or other harmful measures against his or her children. Certainly they will
not do so until they have, in the course of the quarrel, broken off social relations
by showing their plant emblem. Usually a quarrel does not go beyond the
breaking off of relations, but if further unpleasantness should occur and if the
person who has caused anger is experiencing some misfortune, sorcery will at
once be suspected. The same is true in case of conflict with the father's or the
mother's brother, though the showing of the plant emblem does not, in such

A [See Category 574, p. 58--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

571 conflict necessarily precede recourse to sorcery. It is believed, however, that
602 such relatives will not usually carry their resentment too far. As soon as the
578 afflicted person makes his apologies and shows himself ready to make a pig
754 sacrifice, such sorcery will normally cease. The same applies to the father's sister,
though she has to be watched more carefully than the others, as she is very quick
to resent neglect and seek retribution. She will be restrained, however, by the
deep love she is expected to bear for her brother, so that she may be expected to
agree fairly easily to a settlement. It is thought that mother's sisters are more
dangerous as their bonds of family loyalty are much weaker. All these relatives
[431] may cause disease, failure of gardens, bad luck in hunting, etc. All the
relationships give rise to the same type of positive and negative reciprocity
cycles: if proper prestations are made from time to time, positive reciprocity is
maintained, but neglect over a long period will create anger and a negative
reciprocity cycle.³

In the case of certain close relationships, restraint in acts of negative
reciprocity does not arise from any rules limiting the expression of anger, but
rather from the existence of other close social relationships which would be
threatened if the expression of anger went too far. Thus a mother's brother
would be restrained in wreaking revenge upon his nephew by the risk of
offending his sister if the revenge were excessive. It is hard to illustrate these
principles of exchange with concrete evidence, as I do not know of any actual
harm being done between relatives. I know only that misfortunes which I would
ascribe to natural causes tend to be explained by sorcery on the part of a
neglected relative, and that the neglected relative then asks for or receives a pig or
other animal.

571 Prestations between affines have a similar explanation, though the pattern of
578 hostile action and retaliation between affines is somewhat different. The first
602 hostile action in the series tends to be the abduction of a woman for purposes of
583 marriage. This is defined as a hostile act directed against the woman's kin group.
The girl's parents look for her and show considerable fury when they find her,
wreaking havoc in the village of the abductor. One may say that this is the first
cycle of exchange in an affinal relationship and it is totally negative. The
abductor's kin group offers a present of ornaments called *sovu hambo*, and
promises a bridewealth of acceptable proportions in return for which the bride's
parents depart in peace.

It should be noted that, though this second cycle contains an exchange of
positive (rather than negative) objects of mediation, the bridegroom's people
remain in the position of debtors, while the bride's parents continue to harbour
their anger. All they have agreed to is the continued residence of the bride with
the bridegroom's people, pending a satisfactory settlement. The third cycle is
constituted by the payment of bridewealth, including pig sacrifices, on one side,
and the transfer of the usual conjugal rights, including the right to the bride's
offspring, by the bride's kin group. On the level of social exchange, however,
there is still no exchange in benefits. The relationship remains one between
creditor and debtor, as the bridewealth does not wipe out the anger of the bride's
parents nor expiate the offence of abduction. This point will be explained
further in the chapter on marriage.

It suffices to say at this stage that pig sacrifices made by the bridegroom and

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754 5 This interpretation of Orokaiva sorcery appears to be largely supported by Lawrence and Meggitt who argue that in societies with 'stable social organisation' (among which they count the Orokaiva), sorcery accusations act 'both as an important medium for expressing enmity and as an excuse for initiating warfare, which is ultimately the most effective means of relieving feelings of aggression' (1965: 17). The authors appear to believe that sorcery can be explained along psychological lines as fulfilling a need for channelling aggression (*ibid.* 18). I find it hard to see how the specific facts of sorcery behaviour (and especially the transactional patterns described in these pages) can be explained in terms of universal needs. Sorcery is only one of many substitutes for physical aggression and all these substitutes, in one way or another, serve to maintain a relationship of negative reciprocity.

Accusations of sorcery probably have a cognitive as well as an effective 'function', for they imply an explanation of misfortunes for which no natural cause is known. Furthermore, such accusations turn misfortune into an object of mediation in (negative) social exchange. The assumption is made that the misfortune will continue until the relationship with the sorcerer is basically changed, either by his defeat or by reconciliation.

604 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *ba kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakara sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 Nobody has the right to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe*'s appraisal of the worth of the young initiate and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. 301 Has the initiate been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are 604 rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to someone: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as 301 the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I 579 received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big. [778] That is what makes it *otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; 881 the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma*'s recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out [266] among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiate.

729 *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such 881 as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite 628 an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

list which I had collected some time previously, namely the villages to which a person would go if he needed the services of a black magician, in other words, if he wished to apply *saruka* against a fellow villager who had injured him. When I pointed out this coincidence to informants they agreed that indeed they were always the same villages, but insisted there was no connection between *aguma* and *saruka embo*.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to explore such coincidences even if informants dismiss them as totally insignificant. In this exploration I was assisted by further facts, not noted by Williams, about the social exchange between the initiate and the *aguma*. Before the latter recites his war deeds, he will hand his limepot to the initiate. He then says something like: 'You are holding my limepot. Therefore promise not to beat your wife.' There are a good number of such vows the initiate must take. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place, but generally cover a wide range of rules of social exchange, of the same type as are listed by Williams and by Chinnery and Beaver (1915: 76). Later, when the *aguma* offers the *otohu*, he does so on condition that the initiate keeps his vows. Persons who violate some rule of social behaviour are likely to be warned by fellow-villagers in terms such as: 'You had better be careful - you held the limepot.'

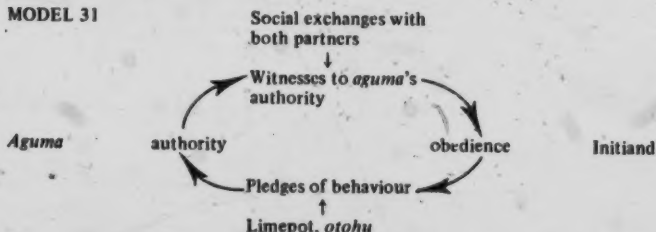
We thus find that *aguma* and sorcerer have something more in common than their provenance from the same set of villages. They are concerned with two interrelated aspects of social control: the *aguma* obtains certain pledges from a person and the sorcerer punishes that person if he breaks his pledges. It is significant that these guardians of moral values live in places which are on the fringe of the universe of friendly social relations maintained by any village. One may visualise this universe in widening concentric circles moving from friendly villages, to sorcery villages, to usually hostile villages. While the usually hostile villages tended to yield an occasional marriage partner obtained through abduction, the sorcery villages represent the outer limit of the area from which a person would ordinarily obtain wives, and therefore affinal and uterine kin.

It has often been remarked that guardians of moral values tend to be situated on the fringe of the social universe (e.g. see Gluckman 1965: 100-1). In view of what we already know of Orokaiva social relations (see model 20) we would expect that the initiate would normally have no direct significant social relations with his *aguma*. Usually his relations, if any, would be through one or more intermediaries. In the absence of such intermediaries, the initiate would see no reason why he should believe the *aguma*'s recital of his war deeds nor his claims to greatness and why he should honour pledges made to a stranger. Williams shows that rude questioning of the *aguma*'s authority, by young men in a position analogous to that of the initiate, was a regular part of the ritual (1930: 190). There is, however, a counterpart to these challenges which appears less clearly from Williams' account. I was told it was not enough for the *aguma* to protest his own war deeds; there must also be other war leaders present who will affirm that the *aguma* is speaking the truth. One gathers from Williams' account that there were two of these at the ceremony he attended (p. 189-90). He quotes one *aguma* as saying that these two intermediaries 'remembered his exploits better than he did himself'. The *aguma* then pretended to use these men as prompters. Whatever the two intermediaries were called upon to say or do,

729 they would always add credibility to the words of the *aguma*, as their authority
881 would not be questioned by the initiate.

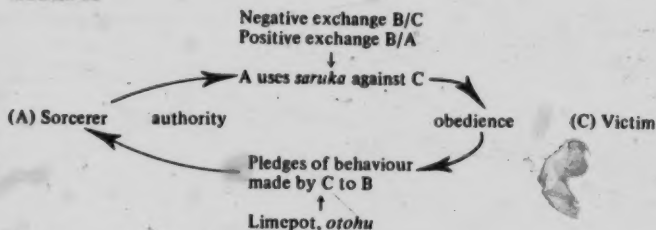
[537] The effect of this ritual would be to place the *aguma* in a very exalted position. The initiate would see that someone he regarded as an authority figure deferred humbly and showed his admiration to the *aguma*. The *aguma*'s social distance thus increased the awe initiands felt before him and made the pledges all the more binding. We may express this transaction by the following exchange cycle:

MODEL 31



754 If the initiate should later break a pledge, the wronged person may call upon
626 a sorcerer whose position I have suggested to be symbolically equivalent to that
[628] of the *aguma*. The Orokaiva never seems to use sorcery directly upon the person he wishes to punish, but always goes to a village on the periphery of his social universe, where he retains a sorcerer for a fee. Later on, when the victim of the sorcery (C) recognises the wrong he has done to the angered person (B), he will offer the latter some reparation. The latter will then ask the sorcerer (A) to cease pursuing the victim. We note that the exchange cycle thus set up is homologous with model 31:

MODEL 32



Marriage

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marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and economic success. 582
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[754]
[602]
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Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sipepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule. [601]

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation of the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline. 582
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There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta data jimburi*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village. 582
628
583

This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta data jimburi*, for a period not less than two generations.

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● [754]

science' as long as I may add the qualification that this 'pseudo-science', at least among Orokaiva, is mainly concerned with the manipulation of social relations. As all misfortunes are explained by Orokaiva as sorcery, and all sorcery serves to mediate negative reciprocity, i.e. enmity either on the part of the living or the dead, therefore all counter-magic is similarly part of a cycle of negative or positive reciprocity. If the counter-magic is made by the victim of sorcery, it mediates a continuing negative cycle. If the counter-magic is made by the same person who made the original black magic or *saruka*, this is done in response to conciliating gestures by the victim and signifies that the exchange has shifted into a positive cycle. Sorcery is not considered good or evil in itself nor does Orokaiva society have clearly defined norms to govern behaviour in most of the situations where it occurs.⁹ It is easier to assume that the sorcerer (or his principal) has one idea of what the norms are and the victim has a different idea, and that the society will continue to have conflicting sets of norms irrespective of how the particular conflict is resolved. In some circumstances it is advantageous to shift the social relationship into a positive cycle, whereas in other circumstances it is more advantageous to fight magic with magic.

Having thus acknowledged Malinowski as one of the ancestors of the present work, I should also acknowledge the theoretical work in both sociology and anthropology which helped me to reanalyse Malinowski's data in the manner instanced above. Neither Lévi-Strauss nor his immediate followers were much help in this respect as they have not, until very recently, given detailed attention to questions of process. The study of exchange cycles, as developed in the present work, would be of little value if they were nothing but consequences of enduring structural regularities.¹⁰ In that case there would be no difference between my exchange cycles and the 'situational analysis'¹¹ developed by Gluckman, Turner and van Velsen (1964). 'Situational analysis' provides meticulous data concerning conflicts involving individuals but it is always assumed that the resolution of the conflicts reasserts rather than changes the existing corporate norms.

We have seen, however, that the corporate norms of Orokaiva society are constantly changing. Clans fuse and split, relations with uterine kin go through positive and negative cycles, moiety systems arise and disintegrate, enemies become partners in alliance systems while the only enduring corporate group, the extended family, where 'situational analysis' would yield satisfactory results, is too narrow a unit for the student of the dynamics of society. Within the extended family, conflicts may actually reassert and strengthen group values. But even in a four-generation agnatic group splitting up of the group after a quarrel is normal and far from being a failure of solidarity. It is part of an atomising process which causes no crisis in the overall exchange network.

In these circumstances the prevailing pattern of social relations can be accounted for most easily by reference to a past sequence of positive and negative exchange cycles. When I speak of structure I am not referring to this ephemeral pattern of social relations but to the laws underlying the generation of the positive and negative cycles. In my discussion of the marriage system, I presented the structure as cyclical alternation of direct and complex generalised marriage exchange. One may call this the law of the operation of the marriage system. On the other hand, when I described the prevailing social organisation of

731 food from their abandoned gardens which they found in good
361 condition, apart from the uncontrolled growth of weeds.

No doubt minor adjustments in the distribution of land rights were made in the course of resettlement of the land around Sivepe when the people returned after a year's absence. But they would not have been faced with the major problems met with in the crowded resettlement areas with large numbers of immigrants. When the people of old Sivepe-Pamba returned from the evacuation camp they re-established their village on its old site.

613 It was not long, however, before the Timumu people became
361 involved in a protracted dispute with members of Kongahambo
[578] village (a new resettlement concentration near Sasembata), over
[177] garden damage caused by pigs, and in order to avoid more trouble they decided to move further away to build on their land at the present site of Sivepe village. The members of Berekipa and Arehu lineages and of Seho clan remained in the old village until a Patrol Officer asked them to reunite with the Timumu people. Since the Timumu were not keen to move back and since the occupants of the old village agreed with the Patrol Officer's assertion that it was poorly drained, these Jegase and Seho people moved to Sivepe in 1953. They were given permission to build by the Timumu lineage which owned most of the land on the site.

154 Meanwhile the Bebehupa had returned after the eruption to Binduta where they lived with Uochu people for about 8 years. Then friction between the 2 groups became too great and, following accusations of sorcery, 4 Bebehupa households came to live on pockets of lineage land within the new Sivepe. Their houses are not aligned with those of the Jegase men who arrived earlier but the other 2 clan branches tend to occupy distinct sections of the village.¹

614 (iii) The distribution of other clan branches. One Jegase
361 clan branch lives several miles west of Sivepe in Hururuta village. Another group of Jegase splintered from the local branch of the clan after protracted disputes and settled at Kakendetta near Popondetta. The Sivepe people do not know how they acquired land rights there but insist that they voluntarily relinquished all their original rights. The clan is represented in Kiorota, Mahihita and Isoge; Plant (1951: Appendix 3) also reported that there were members of the clan in Kokitate and Pondohu.

A large branch of the clan now at Suin village is said to have moved down from the slopes onto unoccupied land which lay between

¹ The houses of parent and 1 son or a married daughter are usually adjacent but those of additional children are often located elsewhere.

621 At the time of resettlement these writers drew attention to the possibility that the composite villages would eventually be disrupted either by aggravated friction between members of different clans who had not lived together before or by the unsuitable siting of the settlements with regard to access to the villagers' own gardening lands.

• [754]
[166] The first problem was solved by individual mobility. Our own experience which is confirmed by the observations of patrol staff is that fear of sorcery, which follows tension within the village, is one important example of the vicissitudes of social relationships which are responsible for much of the movement from one village to another at present.¹ But the problem of the location of gardens in relation to residence was solved in time wherever people moved from the main road or other temporary settlement areas to new sites on or near their old land.

This land use problem was peculiar to the exceptional resettlement conditions and Keesing seems not to have considered this point when he concluded that the formation of larger villages was incompatible with the economic base of shifting agriculture. His prediction that people would continually 'hive off' into hamlets of a dozen houses consistent with their familiar system of seasonal shifting gardens does not seem to have eventuated.

062 The scattering of an individual's land interests over a neighbourhood facilitates mobility between adjacent villages because after moving, for whatever reason, he can often continue to exploit rights to those lands which are at a convenient distance from his new village. We found, however, no evidence to suggest that shifts of residence are determined by a continual need to clear new areas for cultivation even if these areas lie scattered near a number of villages.

171 Residential mobility is not as closely correlated with changes
241 in gardening sites as it is among the Chimbu even though, as
361 Williams says, the Orokaiva move their garden sites frequently. Among the Chimbu, on the other hand, where a long cultivation period usually of at least 4 years, sometimes broken by short fallow periods (when the area of cultivation within the plot is shifted), is followed by long fallow periods of varying length up to about 20 years (Brookfield and Brown 1963:52), 'the principal factor determining residence is land; most men prefer to live near their main blocks of currently cultivated land' (ibid:97).

¹ Other examples are disputes between kin, and life-crises. About 1956 the oldest Bebehupa man left Binduta to spend his last years at Mahihita, an area to which he has been emotionally attached for much of his life. One or 2 close kin went to look after him and a series of other Bebehupa have followed.

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[66] may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.

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[428] (iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is characterised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance is usually patrilineal² and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.³ Further, more than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a reference group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.⁴ Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.⁵

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[613] This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

1 Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear of sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

2 Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

3 We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

4 In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

5 For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

423 In five blocks rights were obtained by a man by
428 adoption from two previous rightholders neither of whom had any
425 surviving male children, and each of whom adopted this man in
turn during his childhood. The two men belonged to different
lineages. Another six blocks belonged to the Paru lineage which
died out due to an absence of male heirs. The rights in five of
these lands fell to a female member of the lineage and from her
to a relative in a neighbouring village (the precise relationship
is not known). His descendants transferred the rights back to a
relative of theirs in the Jego'undi sub-clan of Inonda. It appears
that individual rights are not retained for long if the holder is
permanently resident elsewhere. Rights to the sixth block of
Paru lineage land passed through a Paru female to her son in
the Joremba'embo lineage of his father. It will be noted that
Inonda lands have changed from one lineage to another firstly by
adoption of a member of another lineage and secondly by trans-
mission to the son of a female of the donor lineage. Such in-
stances only occurred when there were no resident males in the
direct line.

When a male is born to a current rightholder the
child immediately becomes a potential joint rightholder in his
father's land. His rights crystallize when he plants his first
garden, usually at the time of his marriage. People claim that
the first-born child has no rights superior to those of any other,
but in the case of joint rightholding at least, he is recognized as
senior, and as the spokesman and trustee in negotiations involv-
ing other groups. There were insufficient instances of brothers
holding gardening land jointly to ascertain the precise nature of
the elder brother's rights of control.

The enforcement of rights

578 In pre-contact times rights could be enforced by re-
627 course to negotiation or arbitration by elders within the village,
754 by direct aggression or by recourse to sorcery. Today direct
aggression is illegal, and though it still occasionally occurs be-
tween individuals or small groups, it is no longer a very im-
portant deterrent. Sorcery is still widespread and the fear of
it appears to be an effective deterrent to encroachment on the
rights of the strong, though not necessarily on those of persons
whose status is low. In the event of encroachment by another

5/8 villager it is said that the aggrieved party will place his erahu
6/27 on the path leading to the land concerned as a warning to the
7/54 offender. If he does not take heed the aggrieved will have re-
course to sorcery or physical violence, or he may (less
commonly) bring it before the assembled men of the village. If
all are agreed on a course of action but the offender refuses to
comply, he may be evicted. Two men of the subordinate sub-
clan were threatened with eviction for alleged theft of produce
shortly before our arrival. No further thefts occurred.

6/27 At present the only body with effective power to
settle disputes is the Department of Native Affairs to which the
people frequently have recourse. Just prior to our arrival one
man had reported another villager for animal trespass and
damage to his crops. The matter was settled by an informal
payment of damages arranged in the presence of a member of
the official patrol staff.

Current problems in relation to the enforcement of
rights are discussed on pages 76-77.

614 position will be insecure.

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The man who resides in the village by virtue of the fact that two of his daughters are married to Andiriha men has been invited to plant coffee in Inonda but he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing there.

The one man who has planted cocoa on Inonda land did so, not on his own lineage land, but on that of another lineage which has no adult members at present. But the mother of the children whose lineage holds primary rights to the land has objected strongly and has succeeded in stopping him from expanding his plantings. One other Andiriha man staked out land and planted shade for cocoa, again on the same land of the other lineage mentioned, but has been prevented from planting. (1)

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Partly as a result of the uncertainty of their tenure the villagers are again considering shifting the village site. (2) Several possibilities are being considered. Some wish to move to land held by an Andiriha sub-clan which lives at Hohota and which has close links with the Inonda sub-clan. These point out that they have no certainty of tenure for their cash crops on the existing land, whereas at Hohota there is land which is

[54]

(1) This dispute resulted from the fact that when the last adult member of the lineage died, his wife remarried and her new husband "adopted" her children. Those who moved onto the land reasoned that as the children had been adopted, the local branch of the lineage had died out and the land was available for use by any member of the sub-clan. The mother, on the other hand, claimed that the children would not inherit land from their adoptive father but from their born father. She won her point by threatening to complain to Native Affairs officers who, the villagers said, would undoubtedly have supported her.

[75]

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(2) This is not the only reason for moving, and the prevalence of sorcery in the present location is felt to be responsible for the supposed excessive death-rate. (There has in fact been a decline in population from 60 in 1949, to 49 in 1957, 45 in 1960 and 43 today). The Allied Geographical Section (1942, Appendix G) gave the population as approximately 120 in 1942, but the accuracy of this figure is in doubt.

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[659] tween sub-clans or villages. (1)

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754 Officers of the Department of Native Affairs are still in some instances able to effect reconciliations or to settle disputes despite their lack of legal powers. This is not only because disputants are sometimes prepared to accept the judgement of a disinterested third party, but also because almost all Orokaiva people we have met are of the opinion that patrol staff do have the power to enforce their "recommendations". The fear of sorcery is still recognized as a sanction against transgression of property rights and informants quoted instances of sorcery having been used to punish transgressions of fishing rights. It is a commonplace that where adequate alternative facilities for settling disputes are not available, sorcery tends to increase. Though it is certainly extant in Inonda we have no evidence to indicate whether it is increasing or not.

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423 The definition of boundaries and owning sub-clans would increase social stability and security of tenure, but in the course of time, due to population increase in some clans and decrease in others, it would become increasingly unrelated to clan needs. It is therefore necessary that any action to define boundaries and ownership should be associated with facilities for the transfer of rights between clans, or between individual members of different clans.

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425 In the pre-contact era warfare was probably the most important means by which major areas of land were transferred between descent groups, and when warfare is abolished it is essential that alternative facilities for land transfer be provided. In many colonial territories where warfare previously tended to bring land areas into line with population numbers, colonial governments have abolished warfare but have not provided adequate alternative means of transfer, and this invariably leads

(1) Disputes between sub-clans or villages are sometimes settled by the Executive of the Hikuturu Council. They have no legal power to enforce decisions, but they are often able to persuade parties to accept their advice.

632 changes in rural areas. For a man to leave his
177 village and go to work in the town means long
632 separation from his family and from his kin,
464 an experience unheard of in the past. Separation
602 from his relatives means that he may be
361 facing dangerous risks from the sorcery of
[754] foreigners in an unknown country. This is one
reason why migrant workers tend to live in
kin clusters in the towns. Unemployment, inadequate living quarters, low wages, the necessity for paying in cash for all goods and services, and the obligation to send cash gifts to relatives in the villages, all add to the town dwellers' difficulties.

121 The three areas to be studied in this book are:

1. The north coast of Papua, near Popondetta, inhabited by the Yega people.
2. Central Bougainville, near Kieta, inhabited by the Nasioi people.
3. Port Moresby — two indigenous communities.

These three areas have been selected because they are all experiencing rapid change. Moreover, they are areas of actual or potentially great economic development. The stresses and strains put on the traditional way of life in such circumstances are particularly severe; study of such situations may help to give students a deeper appreciation of the problems faced by the people of New Guinea today.

Northern Papua and Central Bougainville are rural areas where the inhabitants have a primarily subsistence economy basically similar to that of their traditional culture, but modified by the innovations introduced by Europeans and latterly by their own educated younger members. There are, however, important differences which are summarised below.

133 *Topography.* Northern Papua is a gently-sloping, almost featureless plain, covered by rain forest interspersed with grassland, traversed by a few braided streams and many small creeks. Central Bougainville is mountainous with peaks up to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep, tree-covered slopes, rocky outcrops, and rushing streams which rise rapidly after rain are typical features.

614 *Social.* The social structure of the Yega is
613 localised patrilineal clans, sub-clans, and lineages, inhabiting a few square miles of land.

[P.3-B]

361 In the period from January, 1951-1967, the location of the
[114] villages now known as Sivepe and Inonda changed several times. In
the Sivepe area settlements had always been unstable. Rimoldi
has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct shifts of residence from
the time of European contact to the present; involved though his
reconstruction is, it probably tells only part of the story. In
50 years, the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them
been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14 village
sites within an area of about two square miles adjoining the Sohu
[659] River. It is clear that the government carried out some village
consolidations in the district after the second world war, but
before the eruption. Most of the people now living at Sivepe were,
at that time, shifted to a village called Pamba, which had been
occupied earlier by the Seho clan only. After the eruption, Pamba
was at first reoccupied, but soon the village was shifted almost
a mile away, to a place which was called Sivepe. This new village
(see Map V) differed from the pre-eruption one in layout, method
of house construction and spacing of the dwellings. It conformed
to the model advocated by the administration and observed by the
refugees when they were at Wairopi and Ilimo. In 1965, Sivepe was
shifted to its present site, and higher building standards and
better sanitation were again introduced (see Map VI).

[578] Both these shifts were connected with topographical relation-
ships and social relationships outside the village. The first of
them, in 1952, seems to have been precipitated by a quarrel between
[629] the Timumu clan of Pamba and the resettlement village of Kongohambo,
which then had a population of almost 1,000, over garden damage
caused by pigs. Sivepe was much farther away from Kongohambo than
Pamba. The second shift was in the opposite direction. It was a
move which brought the village closer to the road, closer to the
mission, and the reduced distance from Kongohambo no longer mattered
as this is now a village of average size, with which good relations
exist. The people who lived in Kongohambo in 1952 have returned to
their homes closer to the mountain.

361 These shifts in village sites are accounted for by almost a
superfluity of reasons. Rimoldi was told of almost all the shifts
[659] he recorded that they were made upon the instructions of the
government. I was told of shifts that were made because of deaths
attributed to sorcery and because of quarrels between neighboring
361 villages which were too close together for comfort. I witnessed
[628] one shift after a death of an old man where sorcery was not
[754] suspected (as he was old) but being unbaptised he could not be
buried in the Christian cemetery which made people fearful of his
ghost. The population of this village shifted to nearby Mohorita,
[764] a move which was in any case favoured by the government. A reason
[775] that was also sometimes given was that the houses were all old and
the place was becoming unsanitary. A reason never explicitly given,
but perhaps as important as any other is the Orokaiva's dislike for

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 5--Analyst]

B [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 6--Analyst]

731 with some knowledge of anthropology. All these authors, following
361 F. E. Williams, had the impression that Orokaiva clans are corporate
423 groups and that the local clan groups are segments of these. Thus,
657 Plant and the others imagined that the Jegase of Sui (near Awala)
would share their land without reservations with the Jegase of
Sivepe, that the Seho of Awala would share their land with the Seho
of Sivepe, and so on. The Orokaiva, however, knew that their
position in the resettlement villages would be weak indeed unless
they retained their own village holdings. This weakness will
become more apparent from my discussion of the resettlement village
of Mumuni in a later chapter.

628 The closely allied villages, therefore, are not only a source
423 of cooperation but also competition. Seho returned and had no
trouble reasserting their rights; they accepted with good grace
that their neighbors had built their village partly on Seho land
and that the mission station had partly been built on it, but they
jealously guarded the rest of their holdings. Let us now consider
the specific variables listed in the previous section.

628 Transactions between members of closely allied villages
occur in kinship and friendship roles; decisions affecting the
villages as corporate groups are taken at a meeting where all adult
men of the affected villages are present, and have a right to
speak. Visits between the villages by individuals occurred almost
every day; formal meetings involving Sivepe and one of the closely
allied villages occurred, for one reason or another, about once a
month. The occasion might be a death, a bride price, a minor
dispute, some government or council or church project. Contacts
were equally close between young and old, males and females.
Meetings occurred in the villages, or, more casually, outside
[578] them. There is much affection between people of closely allied
villages and one finds that disputes between them, though giving
rise to a great deal of heated oratory, are not rashly allowed to
get out of hand. The disputes I witnessed were all resolved amicably
and serious breaches carefully avoided. On the other hand, neighboring
[574] villages were always treated with much reserve. Before the eruption,
they never ate together except under the formal conditions of a
feast; even today, when a feast is held at the mission station for
all the villages in the parish, each village sits apart in a separate
group. When people from different villages eat together in a formal
feast, each village house has its own little group of guests, who
are either kinsmen or in a partnership relation. Transactions between
such persons nonetheless have a greater fiduciary element than
●(754) transactions with other outsiders. Sorcery between closely allied
villages occurs, but only, so I was told, by the employment of a
professional sorcerer from a more distant village. No Garombi man
would act as sorcerer, so I understand, to kill a Sivepe man, but
men from Isoge or Kendata could be found for such a service.

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
622 Sivepe; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
625 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
614 which is the dominant clan of Sivepe. In the circumstances, the law
of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable
man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly
enhanced.

625 The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated.
According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one
day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get
and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff
them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago
roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that
the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that
the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each
village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was sub-
divided into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies
[349] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the
included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replace-
ment of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required
police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building
of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and
it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories.
[151] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under
the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had
anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never
brought anyone from Sivepe to court. He had sent people from other,
surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara
in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so
serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepe men had
actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by
him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but
they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation
work. Other Sivepe informants told me that the village constable made
little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I
[627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as
a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence,
some cases went to court.

625 The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
731 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and
the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and
supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The
camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in
which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had
been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether pos-
sessions had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be
given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

799 this lineage was the village constable. Though the records are by no means satisfactory, it is clear that between 1955 and 1963, virtually the whole of the Jegase clan became baptised while in 1963--but only then--the majority of the Seho clan became Christian. The time lag between the clans was not insignificant, as the head of the Seho clan, who refused to be baptised, died in 1963, and it was after his death that the new leader, his son, joined the Church, together with his clansmen. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only the death of the old leader which delayed conversion, because the records for the Sasembata district as a whole show 1962 and 1963 as the years that Christianity became the dominant religion in these villages. Before 1963, the pattern seems to have been similar to the present one in Inonda: one clan or faction was baptised, while the other held out. It was told that it was the old men with a reputation for black magic who felt most disinclined to abandon Paganism, as they feared it would harm their powers.

731 I shall delay a general discussion on the Church until a later
797 Chapter and confine myself here to a discussion of the impact on community organisation. Undoubtedly, the eruption accelerated the development of some of the Anglican mission stations. While before 1951, the mission in that district was centralised in Sangara, the new centre was in Popondetta, well away from the populous area around the mountain. The major station still operating in the Mount Lamington area was the one at Waseta. In 1951, major stations were established at Sasembata, Agenshambo and Irihambo, while the Hohorita and Isivita stations which followed later completed the coverage. One impetus to the support given to the Sasembata station by the people was undoubtedly the active programme of the church during the evacuation period, when there were daily church services as well as church participation in the education and health field.

871 One feature that became established during the evacuation period
731 was regular schooling for the young. The extent to which the people
797 recognised this as a momentous change in community life is shown by a ritual introduced about that time and still observed at the present. In 1967, the head teacher announced that school would start on a Thursday but no pupils came. The people told him the children were not [852] ready. The following Sunday, all the children--and only the children--gathered for a "feast"--a common evening meal at which they were obsequiously served by the adults. This was a feast to farewell them, I was told, for the next day they would go away to the school. The measured distance between the village ground and the school ground was six chains. The children were home every night and every lunch hour. Nonetheless, in a more essential sense they were leaving the village to submit to the influence of strangers.

794 When Sasembata station was reopened in 1951, no community organisation was associated with the church so that the mission teachers had to make contact with villages for any work they wanted done and this was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. Nowadays, there are two forms of

CHAPTER V: Disease

Section 1: The Community as a Carrier of Disease

164 Data on Orokaiva health are sparse due to the absence of medical research. Some of the picture may be seen from the table of 1966 hospital admissions of St. Margaret's Hospital, Eroro (Table 11).^A The figures for serious illness over the whole of the Northern District, are of course far higher than these figures indicate as only a fraction of cases of illness come to the notice of the hospital. It is estimated at 90% of the population is infected with malaria while filariasis, gastro-enteritis, influenza, scabies and other skin diseases are also [146] extremely common. Some rough studies of Orokaiva diet, carried out under the auspices of Saiho hospital, seem to indicate that malnutrition plays only a minor role as the cause of Orokaiva disease, and patients admitted to hospital rarely have diseases caused by [165] malnutrition. Malaria causes many deaths among children, including one in Sivepe during the time of my stay. People are extremely anxious [753] about disease, even mild attacks of influenza or of malarial fever. The cause was always thought to be sorcery. [754]

Section 2: The Community as the Victim of Unfamiliar Disease

164 No unusual incidence of disease was noticed in the evacuation camps, except for infections due to bad water supply at Cape Killerton camp which was evacuated after a week. Dr. Gunther noted some spinal meningitis and paratyphoid as "the result of close living together in camp." Some old people died, as informants told me, due to grief and loss of the will to live after the disaster. 731

Section 3: Community's Perception of New Location as Healthy or Unhealthy

753 The inhabitants of Ilimo camp were not particularly concerned about health dangers in their new location. Ilimo was not far away from their own territory; villages such as Sivepe had had at least some friendly contact there and their fears were concentrated more on the safety of some of their kinsmen and the threat to the land and possessions they had left behind. It was different for the Sangara and Isivita people who were encamped in the Oro Bay area, in the midst

A [See Cat. 116, p. 216--Analyst]

177 the people. When the Japanese were gone he went back to his old village;
797 around 1946 he took over a school at Sewa, established after the war
in a hitherto heathen area. Moses told people to build school rooms,
houses for the teachers and a church. The people worked hard on these
projects because they wanted to send their children to school. The
school served a number of mountain villages in the vicinity of Sewa.

After the eruption, Moses, who had fled to Inonda, was transferred
by the Bishop, first to the mission station at Gona, later to Togahou.
About 15 months later, he was posted to Inonda, following an appeal
from the Sewa people to the Bishop. This group had not had schooling
since the eruption. At Inonda, Moses asked for a house to be built
for him as well as a school. His pupils included children not only
from Sewa, but also Hohota, Hiriju, Ureo, Mosou, Ajoro and Dobuduru.

[562] Two of his daughters married Inonda men, one married an Ajoro man.
When the Sewa people returned home, Moses stayed with his affines.
With regard to gardening land, he is essentially no better off than
the pastor at Sasembata. His Inonda affines lend him gardens from
year to year. He also plants gardens at Hohota, owned by affines and
a deacon. (See Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 33-35.) After he retired
from teaching in 1959, his status soon dwindled. Crocombe (1966)
has published an account of an initiation feast he held for his daughter's
son. In keeping with his former role, this was given a highly acculturated
flavour. It was on a larger scale than most of such feasts; Crocombe
thought this was "to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake
in the village of his residence." (Ibid.: 78)

This was the man who brought Christianity to Inonda and the
surrounding villages and who thus, in the context of culture change,
must certainly be ranked a one-time "key personality." Yet his present
status is demonstrably marginal. It is better than the Sasembata
pastor's because he has affines to call upon, but the obligations of
affines are strictly circumscribed: marriage gifts, help, if necessary
sustenance. All these have been well provided; the affines have been
good, even generous. Nor need the pastor fear for his descendants:
they will be helped, in the usual Orokaiva way, by their paternal

[423] relatives if they stay in Inonda or Hohota. But gifts of land are
[431] not regarded as an appropriate reward for missionary services rendered
by individuals.

Section 3: Residents of the Community

177 Among the key personalities in Sivepe over the period under
consideration there were resisters as well as promoters of change.
Among the resisters was undoubtedly Isemba, leader of the Seho clan,
who died (unbaptised) in 1963. While this man was alive none of his
clan joined the church; he did, however, agree with school education.

[777] I was not able to learn much about him except that he was most knowl-
edgeable about the holding of feasts and their magic and that he feared

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[177] his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which [777] made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

[754] One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the A.P.C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

[177] This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast- [623] leader and the "committee" of Sivepe. His land holdings are relatively extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor [429] will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him. At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest; Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission. For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude. Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring and supported the move of Sivepe to a location on Seho land, six chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as "committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again, preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site, between village and mission station which would have made the village entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

[665] Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepe, he and this younger man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepe. The third married a Samara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

[623] Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from [177] three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the [471]

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
[535] the here) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practises,"
even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanadage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
[514] sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[754] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[361] walk from Sivepe, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepe, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepe,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
881 our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
in Sivepe. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[841] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
[783] the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (viz Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
782 always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
178 Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Uarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepe for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepe knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepe people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.

- 24) of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Consistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

(614) The hamlet is based normally on patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

- 181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen accompanying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic," but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession" and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild-roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
198 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller
(190) living units than before. This appears to apply particularly:
to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though:
a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village-
type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have;

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177 liberately endeavored to keep everyone busy, and the men spent much of the time in work gangs (e.g. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday were usually devoted to house-building; Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday to gardens; Friday to roads and hygiene). But leadership and organization were creatures of Government, and to some extent of Mission. There were no significant signs of a self-motivated superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties. Consequently, should larger communities be established with the purpose of preventing the people from scattering out again, they would have to be bureaucratically or theocratically controlled with all the dubious consequences such a situation can entail.

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625 2. Reasonable law and order was being maintained in the new settlements, under the eye of a considerable force of the Papuan Constabulary sent in for the emergency. Opponents of a concentration policy claimed, however, that the older patterns of intergroup hostility and violence are not far enough below the surface to justify the risks involved in larger long-term aggregation. As indicated, problems of land tenure are a major potential source of conflict. Another is "woman trouble," judging from experience in the camps where husbands and wives find themselves in informal association with members of the opposite sex, in contrast to the normal tightly structured small units.

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514 3. Not least among the uncertain factors is that of sorcery. According to those who manage the settlements, fear of coming under the influence of strangers who practice sorcery shows itself as a vague but persistent factor. Most overtly it has emerged in connection with the disposal of waste products in the large camps. In typical Papuan fashion the Orokaiva is extremely secretive in his disposal of faeces and other leavings of his body because of the possibility of their use against him in harmful magic. A crucial question, therefore, has been whether group toilets could provide enough anonymity to forestall opportunities for the practice of sorcery. The problem was dealt with where possible by putting men's and women's latrines over running water. This social-supernatural sanitation problem could be serious where long term settlement of large groups is being planned.

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241 4. On the economic side, no sound basis seems in sight for establishing large permanent communities in the comprehensive manner proposed. As indicated, the familiar pattern of shifting gardens will normally involve seasonal movement outward from the immediate environs of the new settlements where most present cultivations are now being made. As yet, no widespread disposition exists to adopt more intensive sedentary cultivation, although undoubtedly some will be prepared to try to continue cooperative experiments with rice and other crops and, hence, will be amenable to Government and Mission encouragement and aid here. As in socio-political affairs, the responsible organization and leadership would in general have to be provided from outside, with the dependence relationship that this implies. Government might have to continue helping any large community for an indefinite period, as with the mechanized agricultural production it is introducing at the Ilimo camp. In large settlements the technique of handling domestic pigs and chickens, vital sources of protein, is always a difficult

WHAT DID THE ERUPTION MEAN?

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829 felt toward the exchange partner, fear of the trouble he might
511 cause, instrumental benefits he has to offer, the importance of the
partner in the total exchange network, and so on.

[518] Anger, in this Orokaiva philosophy, is a normal attitude toward
a partner with whom one stands, for the time being, in a relation
of negative reciprocity. An exchange of injuries takes place until
731 peace is made by the offer of an appropriate gift and feast. The
784 anger of Sumbiripa does not completely fall into this pattern be-
776 cause here the exchange relationship is somewhat limited in scope.
Sumbiripa's gift to man is the safe confinement of the dead,
whereas man's gift is merely the avoidance of any disturbance of
Sumbiripa's mountain. Man mediates the relationship by sending
his dead to Sumbiripa; Sumbiripa mediates it by emitting his
usually innocuous rumbling. Before 1951, Sumbiripa was not
known by Orokaiva to have ever erupted. Hunting on the moun-
tain and similar infractions were believed to have broken the ex-
change relationship and thus aroused Sumbiripa to a just reprisal.

829 Sumbiripa's anger was righteous not only because he was a god.
518 In the framework of Orokaiva thought, serious anger is normally
754 regarded as righteous, at least among persons standing in a regu-
lar exchange relationship. If anger expresses itself in verbal abuse
or physical violence it is not serious, but it becomes so if mis-
fortunes occur because of sorcery imputed to the person who is
wronged. The successful magical expression of anger proves that
anger to be well founded. A man may of course decide to use coun-
termagic, and if that works the anger is no longer serious. If coun-
termagic does not work, a man must be ready to acknowledge his
fault and make reparations.

829 In such a dispute it is of course relevant which side has broken a
518 rule, but the rules are most often debatable. In the end nothing is
considered worse than to have made another person seriously an-
gry. Prudence demands that seriously angry persons should be
mollified, unless their kinship and physical distance is such that
they can be defined as enemies. But even between enemies, a time
comes when anger is shown by magical and other misfortunes to
become inexpedient.

829 Self-accusation and self-inflicted injury are a regular part of
629 this system. In order to make peace a person must define himself as
the transgressor (Schwimmer 1970a, n.d.), as the Papuans did in
the 'anger of God' explanation. Self-injury is a regular strategic

Alienation in the Creation of Exchange Value

435 In the Orokaiva village, exchange value may enter in four ways:
 436 through cash crops, outside gifts, labour and business. The two
 (434) latter categories are recent. Whereas wages were an insignificant
 item in most villages during my 1966-67 study, a recent income
 survey (Newton 1978) in a typical village showed an overall income
 of about K675 per household, made up of coffee returns 35%, wages
 37%, migrant gifts 12%.

[776] We have no special studies of work concepts in this sector, but
 some general indications. It may seem surprising that Jesus Christ
 was nominated as the originating deity of monetary compensation
 for work, but New Guineans widely regard him as originator of
 European wealth and therefore also, not illogically, of the concept
 of money and exchange value. The idea of converting labour into
 money, in itself, greatly interests New Guineans. Thus Daniel de
 Coppet shows that in the Are'are social system there is but one
 traditional method of converting food and services into shell
 money, viz by acting as an undertaker. For this reason the office
 of undertaker was a highly valued one. Thus Councillor Colin might
 well genuinely revere a deity or culture hero who instituted the full
 convertibility of labour into money.

461 The term *pure ari* is appropriate to describe the white man's
 435 labour if for no other reason than that a 'job' just like the *pure* is
 a place where one spends the day. The new dispensation has, sure
 enough, its own conflict (*isoro*) and mode of conflict resolution.
 [694] Councillor Colin brings this out by his example of the policeman
 who puts village men into handcuffs and takes them off to court.
 [754] In such a case it was the task of the sorcerer to ensure that the
 men would escape conviction and be set free again.²⁰ Virtue, in
 such a system, is largely a matter of keeping out of trouble, but
 also it is a matter of not squandering the money but reserving
 some — ideally half — of it to serve the needs of kinsmen and
 fellow villagers: contributions to ceremonial payments, feasts,
 travel expenses etc. Briefly, wages tend to be converted into
 political power.

435 No great value was usually attached to conversion to western
 436 commodities, except where these became valued prestations. Thus,
 when transistor radios became valued prestations, they began to
 appear in large quantities in the villages and were mostly paid for
 by absentee workers.

[167] The subsistence/feasting duality continues in this system in that
 some money is needed for the former but a labourer would have
 little status in his home village if he did not set aside something for

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- 121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.
14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.
- 114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.
16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).
- 554 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 577 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he 305 officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.
- 114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).
- 773 19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasa, i umbasa, umo timbasa; donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasa. 'Ainge ena. Ainge ivu tu ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasa, andage aisi oa eto i gaipi oa, pure jirembasi oa; iji vevera tunga osaga hamo memega re tapa pure gahiha aisi oa. 'Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi ufe eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gahiha avo earora. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie insetera avo. Aruvorate, ungo kiekie eto God na taekena avo umbuto india. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova. 'Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora.*" 531 Robert, Sivepe, 1966.
- 694 20. The text: "*Embo handa pirisi embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora.*" 754 Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da pirisi embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure pununa.*" Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.
- 245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)